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A boy helps with the butchering of a pig while a second pig is being singed in the background.

A boy drinks from a bamboo water tube.

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A little girl practices weaving.

[p. 32.11]

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Padafan begs food from a child in its mother's carrying shawl.

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He loses his balance but continues to beg.

[865]

He tries rage to attract the woman's attention.

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He thinks the matter over.

He sees his mother gossiping with another woman on the far side of the verandah.

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He goes to her and throws himself on the ground kicking and screaming.

Noticing my interest the mother laughs, picks him up, but does not feed him.

[p. 32 P]

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Chapter 4

Early Childhood: From Walking to Wearing a Loincloth

THIS period covers the time from the first walking to about the age of five or six, when children are referred to as "young" (*fila*). It may well be the period of greatest stress for the Atimelang child. 856

WALKING

When a child begins to walk about with some show of steadiness, it is no longer carried so constantly in a shawl, although the break is obviously not sharp and complete. Padafan, for example, began toddling at about sixteen months, and from then on, most of his day was spent out of the shawl. However, when he was taken any distance, he was still carried in the infantile fashion. At first, too, when his mother returned from the fields in the evening she would put him in her shawl to nurse him. By the time he was approximately twenty-six months old he was rarely placed in a carrying shawl any more, although he might still be picked up and held in an adult's arms when he strenuously insisted upon it.

The carrying shawl, however, remains throughout life a way of 482
transporting sick or injured persons. The devotion of a parent who carries a sick half-grown child any distance, or of an adult who carries an aged and incapacitated parent in this fashion, is referred to with approval. Naturally, when a heavy person is carried, some adjustment to the load must be made. In such a case the person often sits pickaback, and the shawl is passed under his buttocks and across the chest or forehead of the carrier in tumpline fashion. In any case, the carrying shawl is associated with helplessness and infancy and is normally discarded [855] between the second and third year of life. Therefore, after learning to walk, the child loses many of the constant skin contacts and much of the support it previously received.

FEEDING

At this time the child is turned out to play near the house or on the 855
dance place for the whole day under the casual supervision of an older 866
child or an aged adult. The most drastic repercussion of this additional freedom is an increase in the unsatisfactory aspects of feeding. When the mother goes off to work, the child is left from about eight in the

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855 morning until about five in the afternoon without regular provision for
866 food. This does not mean that it is left entirely without food; but all it gets are the odd bits older children cede, more or less generously, when it begs or screams for them.

Again of course there are marked variations in children's experiences in this respect. There may be a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who provides relatively good care, or there may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. In any case, after a child has learned to walk, its disappointments with respect to feeding are increased, and simultaneously it loses the constant handling and support characteristic of the first stage of its life. That the acquisition of its first skill in the independent mastery of the outer
[155] world—namely, walking—should be associated with severe deprivation may well have marked repercussions in the realm of ego development.

862 To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it, the weaning of the child may be hastened because another sibling is expected. Only rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing, and when one does, it can be assumed that it is because no younger child has been born into the family. It is an exception for a mother to permit an older child to take the breast when she has a younger one to nurse. Weaning is done gradually and simply by pushing the child gently away from the breast. If the child is insistent it will perhaps be slapped. Should it still insist, it may be sent to live in the household of a kin, and "he forgets in two or three nights." It is considered desirable to have weaning completed at least a month before the next child is born. If another pregnancy does not occur, it is assumed that children gradually wean themselves. "They think of other foods and forget the breast."

862 In connection with weaning, a mother sometimes uses a mild form
865 of adult teasing, nursing a strange infant to arouse jealousy in her own growing child. For example, Padafan had almost entirely given up the breast when one day he saw his mother nursing the child of a kinswoman. He began to whimper and tried to climb up on her lap. Not until he had worked himself into a rage and had begun striking the infant, did the mother smilingly surrender the strange child and pick up Padafan to let him nurse. The adults are fully aware of infantile jealousy and they derive a mild amusement from it. Despite this, custom makes weaning as easy as possible for the child, and if it were not for its frequent association with the appearance of another sibling and for the cumulative effects of various other factors operating at this period, the weaning situation might well be considered nontraumatic. Food,

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days he understood. "He is now in his twenty-first month and has not 863
soiled the house in six weeks."

A child who is slow in establishing toilet habits may irritate the mother; then she may shout at him or rap him on the head with her knuckles. However, since sphincter control is instituted relatively late it seems to be a source of little annoyance. Children certainly by the age of three, or five at the latest, are thoroughly trained. I have no data on play with excreta—which does not mean that this does not occur, but it may mean that the problem does not obtrude itself.

Constipation does not seem to be a major problem, despite an indi- 147
gestible carbohydrate diet, which gives most children enlarged abdomens. This judgment concerning constipation rests on the slender evidence that in eighteen months I dispensed only three quarts of castor oil to a total population of about six hundred adults and children. Children certainly represented no more than the proportional two thirds to one half of the people coming for laxatives. Incidentally, they did not have a sufficient repugnance to castor oil to reduce the total consumption.

Bladder control, or at least modesty about urination, seems to come 863
slightly later than sphincter control. I judge this to be the case since it [864]
is not unusual to see children of between three and five years standing at the edge of a group and casually urinating without anyone's paying much attention to it. A comparable lack of sphincter control was observed only twice and both times it brought angry scolding from adults. Similarly flatuses, if too persistent, may provoke cross comments, but in general little emphasis is placed on the matter, and in view of the carbohydrate diet even adults are less controlled, and are required to be less controlled, than Euro-Americans in this respect.

BATHING

The cold bath, which at this stage of development replaces the warm 863
sponge-off of infancy, provokes extreme and vocal protest in children. 855
When a child is old enough to stand with some steadiness, it is bathed by having cold water poured over it. Unless the day is hot, the child stands shivering until it dries off. And there is no reward for the ordeal such as is offered by some American Indians, who promise their children health and strength in return for the discomforts of cold baths.

The mother, or some older person, usually scrubs the child, hand- 855
ling it with less gentleness than is shown an infant. The treatment of the child would seem rough to us, but it must be remembered that it is

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855 matter-of-fact rather than punishing—unless, of course, the child rebels at this experience, has a tantrum, and annoys the parent. Bathing, however, does not occur very frequently in most households, certainly not more often than every two or three days.

[64] In addition to normal discomforts, yaws, which are so prevalent in childhood, may present an aggravating factor that makes a bath a painful experience. In the early stage of the disease the body, including often the lips and the genitals, may be covered with lesions, which smart acutely in contact with water. Children with yaws will scream [152] with pain and rage when they are bathed. However, since all sorts of infections may set in and since there is a pussy discharge from the lesions, parents usually feel it necessary to keep the child clean. To make matters worse, in recent years some parents have been buying from [138] Chinese traders on the coast a caustic powder, which they apply to the wounds to dry them. There can be no doubt that the application of this medicine causes extreme pain, and since it is put on after bathing, there must be in the minds of many children an association between baths and the intense pain inflicted by the mothers.

152 Fuifani, a little girl of about five, was a case in point. For weeks she 855 had been having rages of hysterical intensity in connection with baths 865 and the caustic treatment of her yaws. The attacks would set in before the mother began to wash her and continued often for twenty minutes, by actual timing, after the bath. They usually subsided only when she was in a state of complete physical exhaustion. During the rages she would scream, strike at her mother, and jump up and down. After the bath she would refuse to allow her mother to comfort her. Strangely enough she made no effort to run away, perhaps because she realized the futility of doing so.

855 Some weeks later the doctor from the coast visited the mountains, 865 and Fuifani was given an injection that healed her wounds within about seven days. However, the tantrums associated with bathing continued for weeks after her sores were healed. On one occasion she raged half an hour after the end of the bath. Her mother held her while a man poured the water on her as though it were all a fine game. When the child was clean, the mother put her to dry on the verandah of a guesthouse, where she rolled about screaming, kicking, striking out, and banging her head on the floor. Another man passed by and threatened to pour more water on her if she didn't stop, a threat that had no effect and which he did not carry out.

865 Another child, who had been calmer about his bath, was brought up to shame Fuifani into silence. This too had no effect. Her small brother

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of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceeding, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fuifani had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home, but Fuifani broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little playmate of about eight began poking Fuifani gently and playfully, but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her face.

Even where yaws do not make the bath painful, children who are still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making for discomfort is that the women have exceedingly calloused hands and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rubbing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any very painful cases, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to the treatment.

SEX

Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are commonly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted with sex experiences, at this time is completely accessible to children, since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no attempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Although I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the last-born, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular habits of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and gets up

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855 513 to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance. [532] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many [857] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

868 Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say, [195] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*niae, niae, adiye, adiye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes 195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent 868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to 865 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

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861 you cry." This was true for tears provoked by fright as well as by
865 other causes, when comforting and reassuring the child might seem more pertinent.

855 Again, this system appears more clearly in an older age group (see
865 Chapter 5), but the pattern is set in early childhood. It is customary, for instance, to prod and tug at toddlers in a good-natured and affectionate fashion. One favorite form of such handling is to tug the penes of small boys and to poke fingers or arrows into their distended abdomens or in the direction of their crotches. Under such treatment a child often becomes mildly irritable and aggressive, but any show of temper on his part is greeted with laughter and encouragement in the form of recommendations like "Hit him!" "Kill him!" This encouragement to indulge in physical violence is as inappropriate a form of training for adult life, especially for boys, as can well be imagined. Physical
[857] violence in adult men is one of the most dreaded forms of behavior, since it can have widespread repercussions upon the safety, as well as upon the financial resources, of the whole community.

865 The foregoing might lead one to expect a considerable amount of hitting and scuffling among young children. Actually it is relatively rare. When small children come into conflict, usually over food or some possession either seized or not shared, the commonest form of aggressive assertion is a slyly administered pinch, in which a bit of flesh is caught between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and then twisted. The aggressor usually takes to his heels after such an attack. This behavior is probably the result of parental training. A child who strikes other children will be slapped in return by his adult kin, so that even small children learn very soon to resort to subterfuge.

855 Frightening children is also a favorite device, used especially by adults who are not the child's most immediate kin. For instance, a five-year-old boy was watching a mechanical toy roll toward him on my verandah. He watched with the greatest interest and calm until a young man began yelling excitedly at him, saying it would bite. The older children joined in the yelling, all of which sent the child into a spasm of fear that amused the group highly. Constant threats, accompanied by the brandishing of a knife, are made to cut off children's ears or hands. The adult is playful in his intentions, but some children are seriously frightened by this form of teasing. Children who cry persistently are
[865] frightened with bogeyman characters called Kwokamaug Berka (bad cat of Kwo), Maniakani (black Mani), and Padahavelulua. The usual phrase employed is, "If you are not careful, Padahavelulua will come and hit you."

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the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger—the temper tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long duration among young children that they were one of my first and most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion—more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother; then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

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855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
865 cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

855 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
155 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
868 who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
153 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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Chapter 5

Late Childhood: From Loincloth to Thoughts of Marriage

WHEN an Alorese child is given his loincloth, he has taken the first step toward adult status. This marks the beginning of late childhood, a period that lasts from the age of five or six years until adolescence. Children between these ages are called moku. At the beginning of this stage the prolonged and violent temper tantrums begin to disappear, and with some exceptions they completely die out in the course of two or three years. I should suggest that the disappearance of these tantrums is explicable in terms of the data contained in the preceding chapter. Tantrums are not an adequate technique for mastering an external world so inconsistent as that provided by Atimelang. Aside from having the futility of this technique borne in on them, children from five or six onward begin to pick up other devices for mastering the environment—devices that give greater satisfactions than those they can force from their elders. It is primarily with these devices that this section will deal.

At this stage differences become apparent between the life of boys and that of girls, so that it will frequently be necessary to treat them separately. Certainly one general impression that can be stated immediately is that boys are much less shy, much more in evidence, and much more mobile than girls. The reasons may be found in what follows.

RELATION OF FOOD TO TRAINING FOR THE ADULT ROLE

The first question to consider is what food the child expects and from what sources. A boy can expect a meal at home about seven o'clock in the morning and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself in the fluid play groups of free-roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot; a variety of insects, usually spurned by adults, can be found; in the fields near the house are papayas, mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and other vegetables that can be eaten raw or can be easily cooked.

As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children and their playmates, but if raiding is too constant or the crop is scarce, children may be forbidden this kind of foraging. Such objections are most likely to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their assistance in the fields might be expected and is not

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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 685] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is custom- [855 574] ary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and preparing food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

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563 The meat at feasts is always
555 distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their house-
574 hold. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons but not for themselves or their daughters. This is consistent with the theory that
422 flesh food is the property of men. Since feasts are primarily occasions for food distribution and actual consumption is at home, women do get a share, but only as dependents of the men. Also, since meat is eaten primarily in connection with feasts or sacrifices and is definitely a treat, the way is open for it to become set in children's minds as a symbol of masculine prerogative. The system of meat distribution helps to rein-
967 force early in life, and on a very basic level, the role of masculine prestige in the culture. Men are not the providers; in fact, they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for, but they are also the purveyors of a delicacy.

858 The girl, then, is set during early childhood in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle that she will follow all her life. Yet no girl who is unmarried may make a contribution in her own name to food displays, even though she may have grown and prepared some of the food that is brought in her mother's name. This means that she may be assuming adult responsibilities without receiving adult recognition. It is worth noting in this connection that public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

539 The following condensed version of an Alorese tale illustrates nicely the role of the sexes, and especially of the mother-son relationship, in the matter of food. Here the young men appear demanding and vengeful, while the woman vacillates between being a gratifying and a frustrating figure.

Story of the Wasteful Sons

Two brothers went to work in their garden and their mother cooked food for them to take along. When they came home they said, "Our friends have finished the food. It would be nice to cook more." So the mother cooked more food and took it to them in the garden. Part of the food they ate, part they spilled. [The meaning is that in carrying the food to their mouths with a coconut-shell spoon they were careless and let a portion fall to the ground.] In the evening they again asked their mother to cook food for them to take to the fields. They took the food and again ate part and spilled part. Then they ran home to their mother, saying, "Mother, we are sick; therefore cook us millet." The mother put the feces of their youngest brother in the pot of millet she cooked for them.

When the brothers entered the house, they smelled feces and refused

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CHILDREN AND THEIR PROPERTY

Parents have no scruples about appropriating anything a child may have, or about treating it carelessly at the same time that they admit the child's ownership of the property. This is in marked contrast to the rigidly scrupulous attitudes of some other nonliterate peoples such as certain American Indian tribes. Repeatedly I gave children small gifts, ranging from candy to a tin container, only to see these gifts in the hands of an adult a few minutes later, while the child stood by without source of redress. One of the major difficulties in using free-play techniques was that adults could not be kept from joining the children and appropriating the toys. As young people begin producing or acquiring property of greater value in adult eyes, this situation becomes more acute. (See Chapter 6.) A quarrel between two boys over a bow illustrates several aspects of this situation.

Padalang, a boy of about fourteen, gave his bow to an uncle, who promised to mend it for him. When it was mended, the uncle handed the bow to his son instead of returning it to his nephew. The son in turn loaned it to a playmate, who broke it beyond repair. When the nephew discovered what had happened he went to the house of the boy who had broken the bow and seized his bow in compensation—a thoroughly adult procedure. The two boys came to blows and soon both were bellowing with rage and pain. Adults took a hand in separating them and suggested various compromises, which the enraged boys both stubbornly refused to accept. Adult relatives became sufficiently excited to begin snatching the bow from each other's hands. At this point two neutral observers rushed in, seized the bow, and broke it into pieces.

Fantan the Interpreter, who was one of the two neutral observers, commented afterward that they would not have dared to break the bow in this fashion if two adults had been quarreling, but instead everyone would have taken sides and tried to settle matters by compromise. Trivial as this incident is, it illustrates not only the helplessness of children in protecting their own property, but also the peculiar harshness toward growing children that manifests itself repeatedly in teasing, ridiculing, frightening, and beating, as well as in a certain contemptuous highhandedness where their property interests are concerned.

As harshness may take the form of confiscating children's property, so solicitude may manifest itself in giving them gifts. A minor gift of meat in the name of boys at feasts has already been mentioned. The loincloth, the symbol of status, is another gift children receive from

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855 parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly priced woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

428 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields 858 "when a child is old enough to work" —which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply 857 by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

853 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives 867 an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to 143 adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

841 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

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577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fantan the interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fui batol*,
179 to persuade with false promises; *-dot*, to prevaricate; *-duru*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to slant (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rima*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafaiabdia*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tamai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-tuare*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pat-
167 tern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

845 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disci-
567 plinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
● 855 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
146 slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
567 of the family, but a special term (*suaiya*) was applied to them.
853 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

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of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it 567
proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established 855
himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into [36]
slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed 567
toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes 672
the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It 695
is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such oc- 858
currences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko 567
from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but 685
despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. 627
The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

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567 When Semmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
764 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
647 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

848 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

849 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
● 855 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
715 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[752] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

849 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
715 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

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[52] saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so
86 on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

[135] The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freeness in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

154 Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite
865 and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamau the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamau the Simpleton while Lakamau was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamau the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the disciplinер's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

[155] The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress.
961 The degrees to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge
183 principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

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stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear in view of the fact that I don't strike you?'"

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some comments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common experience to see men order a play group of children to do something, only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive. However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is afoot.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Rilpada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, 'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, 'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother."

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indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fantan the interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want children. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for another wife.'" That this was not a personal aberration of Fantan's was evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The care of infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that women are often less eager for children than men, were frank statements by two older women that they had committed abortions during their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Atimelangers is reflected in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which has wealth value.

A further sociologic point that may have considerable weight is that neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have children. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the prestige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium; their life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them — as well as such indications as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than women — is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evidence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children, it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscarriages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is nicely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kolmani the Seeress in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in contradiction to some of the preceding data that have stressed the men's desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

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Chapter 8

Some Psychological Aspects of Religion

IN a study of the relationship between modal personality and culture, the field of religion is one of the most significant because it is often, although not inevitably, one of the areas in which fantasy may be given fullest play. It is also an area where the selection and rejection of diffused traits may manifest themselves with the greatest degree of independence from other determinants like environment, economic production, and technical effectiveness. Ideally a description of life in Atimelang should bring out religious aspects in connection with each of its personal or institutional concomitants, and religion should not be given separate treatment. It has already been apparent that one cannot discuss finances and warfare without including some mention of death ceremonies. A few comments on craftsmanship brought out the casualness that existed in relation to "sacred" carvings, ceremonial procedure, and knowledge of ancestral kin. Passing mention has been made repeatedly of village guardian spirits, of seers, and of garden sacrifices. The autobiographies have many references to familiar spirits and to Good Beings. The object of this chapter is to bring out the Atimelangers' relationship to the supernatural without getting lost in a mass of descriptive detail, which must await fuller treatment in later publications.

DEATH

Since the avowed object of this chapter is to indicate the Atimelanger's relationship to the supernatural, his ideas of the nature of death, of souls, and of the hereafter form a good point of departure. It has long been known that even death, which appears to be an incontrovertible physiologic phenomenon, is subject to a certain amount of leeway in cultural interpretations. A discussion of this point here will lead into bypaths involving trance, insanity, suicide, and attitudes toward illness before it will be possible to move on to the subject of burial and concepts of the soul.

At first glance it would seem that the Atimelangers take a thoroughly prosaic view of the matter. When a person is dying, it is customary for one of his grown children, or failing this, some near kinsman like a sibling, to hold the sick person on his lap much as parents hold children. It suggests a reversion *in extremis* to infantile nurturing patterns in the search for which I suspect many men of this culture have spent their lives. In this connection, it is quite remarkable to observe the collapse

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Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance — nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are [967] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkaliela mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- 593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- [58] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The super- [837] cilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 182 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

855 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 155 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 155 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father, 593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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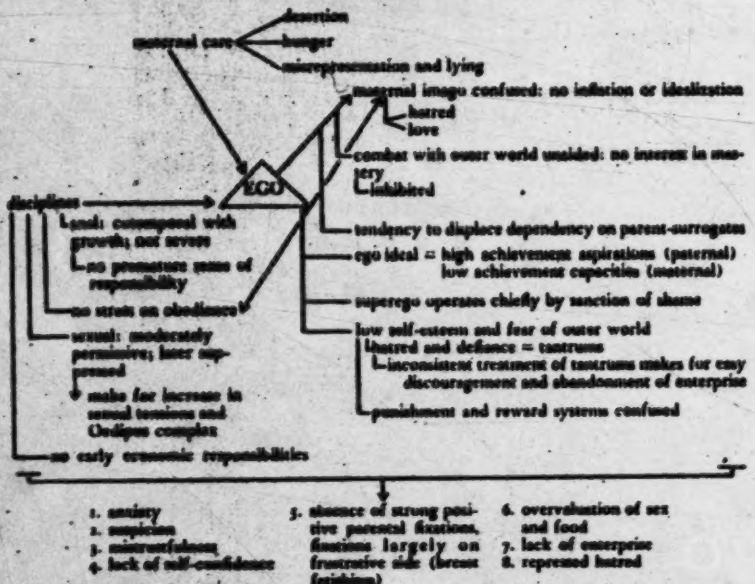
Chart I. Integrative Units of Early Childhood


desertion
maternal care
hunger
misrepresentation and lying
maternal imago confused: no inflation or idealization
hatred
love
combat with outer world unaided: no interest in mastery
inhibited
EGO
discipline
kind: contemporal with growth; not severe
no premature sense of responsibility
no stress on obedience
sexual: moderately permissive; later suppressed
make for increase in sexual tensions and Oedipus complex
no early economic responsibilities
tendency to displace dependency on parent-surrogates
ego ideal = high achievement aspirations (paternal)
low achievement capacities (maternal)
superego operates chiefly by sanction of shame
low self-esteem and fear of outer world
hatred and defiance = tantrums
inconsistent treatment of tantrums makes for easy discouragement and abandonment of enterprise
punishment and reward systems confused
1. anxiety
2. suspicion
3. mistrustfulness
4. lack of self-confidence
5. absence of strong positive parental fixations, fixations largely on frustrative side (breast fetishism)
6. overvaluation of sex and food
7. lack of enterprise
8. repressed hatred

personality is not yet stabilized. We shall now list briefly those factors which seem to us most important for the picture of late childhood given in Chart II.

Late childhood is characterized chiefly by the channelization of aggression. Foraging and stealing is really constructive ego development in the boy. It would be an error to regard this purely as an effort to make good the deficiencies in parental care that persist throughout this period. It is also partly an expression of vengeance against the parent and a bit of self-assertion in that it implies, "I really don't need you any more." A general guilt feeling about the deprivation of youngsters exists in the form of a universal fear of being robbed without any strenuous efforts to stop their depredations.

A second feature in late childhood is the fact that children of both sexes are prematurely inducted into the maternal role. The influence of this factor on the care of infants and on the development of sibling relationships has been discussed previously.

A third point is that although no formal training exists for the boy, there is a continuance of coercive measures, a continuance of the practice of fooling, misleading, and lying which only generates more and

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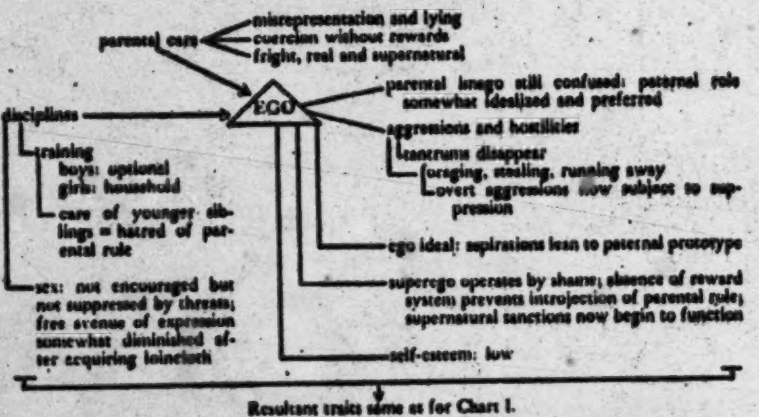
Chart II. Late Childhood


misrepresentation and lying
coercion without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
parental care
EGO
parental imago still confused: paternal role somewhat idealized and preferred
disciplines
aggressions and hostilities
tantrums disappear
foraging, stealing, running away
overt aggressions now subject to suppression
training
boys: optional
girls: household
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental rule
ego ideal: aspirations lean to paternal prototype
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rule; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
self-esteem: low
Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time, and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lackadaisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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159 I was hungry. Lankokda asked who I was. Momau said I was the son of Manimale. Lankokda said, "Oh, that is my grandchild; I must feed him." So he gave me a coconut. We came back, and Momau again picked me up and carried me across the stream.

159 [Why did you live so much with others?] My uncle asked me to
155 come and take care of his little boy. [Repeated question.] My father was always hitting me whenever anything disappeared or happened. [Question.] He also hit my brother Malelaka, but Malelaka stayed at home. Whenever my parents hit me my uncles would feel sorry for me and would come and ask me to stay with them. I never stayed long in one place; first one person would ask me to come and then another.

159 After I had been a short time with Momau, he built a house at Fuimelang, and we went there to live. Momau and Kolang [his wife] had a fight. Momau said, "Don't quarrel, or our child will surely run away." But Kolang said, "The child doesn't enter into this. The quarrel is between us." Momau used to take me hunting for rats, and we ate them together. For a year we were always together. One day my uncle Langmani shot rats and ordered me to fetch sweet potatoes. He said I should sleep with him in Dikimpe. So I went to Langmani. I ran errands for him. I harvested his corn, dug tubers, fetched wood, and carried water for him. We hunted rats together. Everything he asked I did for him. One day we were hunting rats in a stone wall. My hands were cupped over the runway and Langmani was prodding in it. One large rat ran right into my hands. That night when we went to the house Langmani told how I had caught a big rat. [Question.] In the house was Alurkoma and his two wives and three children, four counting me. Langmani was older than I. He was about fifteen then. I was about ten or twelve.

[Question.] When I went to stay with Langmani, Momau called for me. He asked where I was because I had not come back that evening. Then Langmani answered that we had hunted rats, and it was dark, and I had better stay there that night. [Question.] Momau was sorry for me. He was not angry because I went to stay with Langmani. Langmani was his family too. If I had stayed with other people he would have been angry, but I was staying with his mother and father. When Momau called I wanted to go, but Alurkoma and Langmani said I had better stay with them because it was already dark.

Then I went to live with Padakalieta. He gave me tibah [a sort of
[242] grain, eaten raw] and we hunted rats together. I followed him. When I wanted to go back to Langmani, he said, "No, stay where you have

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many brothers and sisters." Mornings I would eat with Langmani and evenings I ate with Padakalieta and slept there. The houses were side by side. I stayed a year. I planted rice and tibah myself and they ate them. Then I began remembering my father and mother and returned to Karieta. [Question.] My brother Malelaka had been there with my parents all the time. I stayed to cut weeds, and after the planting, when the young weeds came, I pulled them out. Then my grandfather Mangma in Dikimpe called me to help weed, and I went back there again. This was the time that Alurkowati, Dikimpe, and Karieta were at war with Kewai and Lakawati. Ruataug, where my mother and father were staying, was nearer the enemy, and my grandfather called me down so I would be farther away from them.

[Question.] Malelaka, my older brother, was about four years older than I. After I was born my father didn't wait long to sleep with mother again. My father slept with my mother when I first began to laugh. My mother was angry with my father. She took my feces and threw them at my father, saying, "You sleep with me again when I have a child who has only just laughed." [Question.] My mother told me about this afterward. [Does he remember birth of next sibling, Lanmau?] No. [What is his first memory of him?] When I first remember seeing Lanmau, he laughed at me. My mother told me to get leaves to clean up his feces. Maybe he was six months old then. I was at home at that time, when my brother was born, but I don't remember anything before I was sent to get leaves for his feces. I could already walk a little. The leaves were near the house. They were not far.

December 6, 1938

I was young and went to a dance. I was versifying and so was Senmani of Alurkowati. We were singing simultaneously. I finished first and wanted to start the chorus, but people didn't want to. They waited for Senmani to finish his verse. I was angry and wanted to fight Senmani. Six men drew their swords and came to Senmani's help. There were seven against me. I was wounded. [He showed a small scar on his little finger.] I wanted to shoot Senmani. Then Fanlaka of Karieta versified. He said, "Kewai-Lakawati, Hatoberka-Rualkameng, Kafakberka-Fefui, Fevi-Fungatau are all brother villages. So are Dikimpe and Karieta, Alurkowati and Karieta." [Fanlaka was trying to remind Mangma that his enemy Senmani belonged to a brother village, and that he shouldn't attack him.] Then Senmani versified, "If faces were strange, if eyes were strange, I should not have come. But this is a Maughieta [lineage name] and Mothieta [lineage name] dance. The old men of Senhieta

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her husband's uncle.] Once we were there, a large pig of his died, so he used it to give a death feast for his parents. He divided the rice to be pounded between me and his first wife. I began pounding it, but his first wife came and fought with me. She said I couldn't stay there, that we could not share a husband. She said I was from a strange village and I should return to it. So I didn't want to stay any longer and ran back to Lakamau's mother. Atamai's first wife still followed me and fought with me. I said, "Your husband doesn't bring anything to my feasts, so I don't want to stay here." Then I came back to Atimelang. [What did your mother-in-law say?] She said, "My daughter-in-law lives with me, yet you always come to fight with her. So now she can go home to her village. She can marry a man there in her own village if she wants to. If she doesn't, she can always live there and work in her fields."

At that time the rice was not yet ripe. I came back to Atimelang with my child. I wanted to help with the rice harvest, so I went back when it was ripe to help with the crop. By then my child could walk. When the rice was finished, my mother-in-law said, "Now that your child can walk, you can go back alone to your village. If you feel like it, you can come back here to see her. If the child is happy with me she can stay." So I came back alone. [Did you want to leave the child?] My mother-in-law said, "Your husband was my only child. Although your child is a daughter, she can take the place of her father. If the child goes to Atimelang, she will learn another dialect. If you take her away, every two or three days I shall be coming to see her and bring her back with me." So I said, "Good. I could stay here with you, but every day people would be coming to me and wanting to marry me to this man or that. So your child can stay here, and I shall go back." [How long ago was this?] This was two years ago. [Do you see the child often?] I have just cut a field of sun corn at Rualkameng and I take corn and beans to my child, and every morning she comes early to me and eats and stays on through the whole day with me. [Was this the first time you've seen her?] When I first came back here, I went all the time to see her. I always took her food—rice, beans, tubers, corn—but I didn't sleep near her. I was going to see her all the time. When my heart remembers, I must cook and take her food. She is about five or six now. [Rualkameng is about an hour's walk from here. Lomani has a garden there in her own right.] Five days ago when we were talking together, I had food already prepared in my house. When I left you, I took it to my garden. Padamo's mother had gone on ahead, and we two worked there that day in the fields.

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A second factor lies in vesting the co- 157x 182 562
hesion of the society in the woman. This latter is the strongest bulwark of this society against complete disintegration. The woman is not only an economic anchorage, but the financial difficulties involved in breaking up a marriage render the incidence of divorce only a fraction of what it would otherwise be.

A third force that makes for cohesion is religion. Though it is compulsory, operating only under threats, and constituted so that the individual can expect only a relief from an existing evil, its chief influence is to foster better parental care. For in the autobiographies the commonest appeal to the supernatural is made on the occasion of a sick child or of wanton acts of aggression. 192 855 771

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The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own resources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the fluid play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usually spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma, in his autobiography, gives several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.

> Manimale said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Manimale said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another

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source of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is as precariously and inconsistently procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither as long nor as free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the guest privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a midday meal, even if he must cook for himself.